

# THE GHOST WORD *DVĪTHITIKĀ* AND THE DESCRIPTION OF FAMINES IN EARLY BUDDHIST LITERATURE

The word *dvīthitikā*, called an 'obscure term' in the Critical Pāli Dictionary<sup>1</sup> s.v. *thita*, occurs only in one and the same formula, which is used to describe places where it is difficult for monks to get food because of famine:

(*Verañjā, Vajjī, Nālandā*) *dubbhikkhā hoti dvīthitikā setaṭṭhikā salākāvuttā na sukarā uñchena paggaheṇa yāpetum*, Vin III 6, 18-20 = 7,6-8 = 15,6 foll. = 87,5-9 = IV 23,17 foll.; S IV 323,3 foll. (without: *na sukarā*. . .)<sup>2</sup>

('Verañjā, Vajjī, Nālandā) was short of almsfood, which was difficult to obtain; it was suffering from famine, and food tickets were issued' (I. B. Horner).

The note attached to this translation ('the meaning of these four stock-phrases is doubtful') shows that the terms *dvīthitika*, *setaṭṭhika* and *salākāvutta* have been far from being understood since even before Buddhaghosa's time, as will be shown later.

Among Pali scholars of modern times, H. Kern seems to be the first to discuss *dvīthitika*.<sup>3</sup> On the whole Kern follows the explanation given in the *aṭṭhakathā*, leaving open the choice between 'to have doubts about the possibility of getting food' (*dvi-thati*) and 'to have difficulties in getting food' (*dus-thati*). The PED quotes Kern but draws attention to *duhitika*, hesitantly translated by 'infested with robbers' and derived from the Sanskrit root *druh*. Quite a different suggestion was put forward by F.L. Woodward in his translation of the *Samyuttanikāya*: 'I conjecture *du-vīhi-tikā* (where paddy grows badly)' (*Kindred Sayings* IV 228 n. 1). Lastly the CPD offers a confusing rather than helpful discussion on *dvīthitika* s.vv. *ihati* and *thā*.

In the *aṭṭhakathā* the term *dvīthitika* is commented on in the *Sāratthappakāsinī* and in the *Samantapāsādikā*. The latter offers a long and elaborate explanation, which shows very clearly that at the time of Buddhaghosa the meaning and the correct grammatical analysis had fallen into oblivion:

*tattha dvīthitikā ti dvidhāpavattaṭṭhikā. Thitaṃ nāma iriyā: dvidhāpavattā cittaṛiyā cittaṭhā: 'ettha lacchāma nu kho kiñci bhikkhamānā, na lacchāma' ti, jīvitum vā sakkhissāma nu kho, no' ti ayam ettha adhippāyo. atha vā: dvīthitikā ti dujjīvikā, Thitaṃ, Thā, iriyaṇaṃ, pavattanaṃ, jīvitaṇaṃ ti-ādāni padāni ekatthāni. tasmā dukkheṇa Thitaṃ ettha pavattatī ti dvīthitikā ti. ayam ettha padattho. Sp 174, 24-175, 1 = Sp (Be) I 143, 21-27.<sup>4</sup>*

'Here *dvīthitikā* means: endeavour being exercised in two ways. Endeavour is movement: the movement of thinking, the endeavour of thinking is exercised in two ways: "Shall we get something when begging, shall we not get [anything]? Shall we be able to live or not?" This is meant here. Or: *dvīthitikā* means "difficult living"; endeavour, exertion, behavior, activity, life, etc. are words of the same meaning. Therefore *dvīthitikā* means "here the endeavour [for living] goes on with difficulty". This is the meaning of the word here.'

In this alternative explanation Buddhaghosa assumes different meanings for both parts of the compound *dvīthitikā*: First it is split into *dvi*, supposed to stand for *dvidhā*, and *thita* equivalent to *iriyā*. As *thita*, *thā*, and *iriyā* are to be understood as having the same or at least nearly the same meaning, it is difficult to assume that *iriyā* signifies '(good) conduct', which is its usual meaning. It seems rather to be the agent noun of *iriyati* 'to move, to live'. The second suggestion, to analyse *dvīthitikā* as *du(s)-thitaka*, does not offer such difficulties.

That Sāriputta in the 12th century was embarrassed to a certain extent by Buddhaghosa's commentary is evident from the fact that he found it necessary to take up the problem again, and also from what he has to say:

*dvidhā pavattaṇaṃ Thitaṃ etthā ti dvīthitikā ti majjhapaḍalopī-bāhiratthasamāso 'yam iti dassento āha: dvidhāpavattaṭṭhikā ti. Thanāṃ Thitaṇaṃ ti Thitasaddo 'yaṇaṃ bhāvasādhano ti āha: Thitaṃ nāma iriyā ti. tattha iriyā ti kiriyā. kassa paṇ' esā kiriyā ti āha: cittaṛiyā ti cittaṭṭhikā cittaṭṭhikā ti attho. ten' evāha: cittaṭṭhā ti. kathaṃ paṇ' ettha Thitassa dvidhāpavattī ti āha: 'lacchāma nu kho' ti ādi. tattha*

'*lacchāma nu kho' ti idaṃ duggatānaṃ vasena vuttaṃ*  
*'jīvitum vā sakkhissāma nu kho, no' ti idaṃ pana issarānaṃ*  
*vasena vuttan ti veditabbaṃ. bhikkhamānā ti yācamānā.*  
*duhitikā ti pi pāṭho tatthāpi vuttanāyen' ev' attho*  
*veditabbo. dvisadassa hi dusaddādesenāyaṃ niddeso hoti.*  
*dukkhaṃ<sup>5</sup> vā thītaṃ ettha na sakkā koci payogo sukkena*  
*kāṭun ti duhitikā.<sup>5</sup> dukkarajīvitappayogā ti attho. dusadde*  
*vā ukārassa vakāraṃ katvā dvīhitikā ti ayaṃ niddeso ti*  
*āha: atha vā ti ādi, Sp-ṭ (Be) I 426, 5-18.*

'He [Buddhaghosa] says "*dvidhāpavattaḥhitikā*" showing that *dvīhitikā* is a compound, in which the middle member is omitted, and which is an adjective, meaning "here endeavour is exercised in two ways." [The words] *thana* and *thita* [having the same meaning], [and] the word "endeavour" meaning "securing the existence", he says "endeavour" means "movement". Here "movement" means "activity". [Answering the question:] "Whose activity is it?" He says: "movement of thinking", which means activity of thinking, application of thinking. Therefore he says "endeavour of thinking". [Answering the question:] "How is it, that there is a twofold exertion of the endeavour?" He says: "Shall we get etc." Here "shall we get" is said with regard to the miserable people. "Shall we be able to live or not?" with regard to the rich, [thus] is the interpretation. Begging means "asking for". There is also the reading *duhitikā*. Here also the meaning has to be recognized according to what has been said above. For this is indicated by substituting the syllable *du* for the syllable *dvi*. Or: *duhitikā* means: "here endeavour is difficult, no undertaking can be done easily." The meaning is "where living is difficult to procure". He [Buddhaghosa] says "*atha vā*" etc. indicating, that in the syllable *du* the sound *u* is changed into *va* optionally [which leads to] *dvīhitikā*'.

Considering *iriyā* as the equivalent of *kiriya*, Sāriputta shows that the interpretation of *cittairiyā* etc. was already problematic in his time. Whether Buddhaghosa really had in mind different social groups, when talking about a double endeavour of thinking, is open to doubt. He probably rather thought of the monks considering the question, whether they would get any food at all first, and then asking themselves, whether or not they might be able to subsist on what they received. Sāriputta, however,

follows an older tradition. For Vajirabuddhi had already said: *lacchāma nu kho ti duggate sandhāya vuttaṃ, sakkhissāma nu kho no ti samiddhe sandhāya*, Vjb (Be) 56, 3 foll. "shall we get" is said concerning the poor, "shall we be able or not" concerning the rich'. Two points, not mentioned in Sp, are added to the explanation in Sp-ṭ: there is a variant *duhitikā*, and this word shows that *du-* and *dvi-* were thought to be interchangeable without affecting the meaning.

Whether the variant *duhitikā* has any rooting in the Vinaya tradition is more than doubtful, for Sāriputta clearly draws from the commentary on the *Samyuttanikāya*:

*dvīhitikā ti jīviṣṣāma nu kho na nu kho jīviṣṣāma<sup>6</sup> ti*  
*evampavattāhitikā. duhitikā ti pi pāṭho, ayaṃ ev' attho.*  
*dukkhaṃ thitaṃ<sup>7</sup> ettha, na sakkā koci payogo sukkena*  
*kāṭun ti duhitikā,<sup>8</sup> Spk III 106, 13-16 = (Be) III 143,*  
 19-22.

'*dvīhitikā* means: "shall we live, or shall we not live?" In this way the endeavour is exercised. There is also the reading *duhitikā*. The meaning is the same. "Here endeavour is difficult, it is not possible to undertake anything easily." [This] means *duhitikā*'.

It seems to be rather strange that, in comparison with the text as given in the *Samantapāsādikā*, here *dvi-* is not explained at all. The reason for this becomes clear from *ayaṃ ev' attho* introducing the explanation of *duhitikā*. Thus this commentarial tradition evidently did not know about any other interpretation for *dvīhitikā* than *du(s)-hitikā*. It is only the subcommentary that brings in *dvidhā* from the Vinaya commentaries: *evampavattāhitikā ti evaṃ dvidhāpavattāhitikā. dvīhitikā<sup>9</sup> dukkarajīvitikapayogā*, Spk-ṭ (Be) II 382, 24 foll., where the first sentence is quoted from Sp and the second one is identical with Sp-ṭ, both quoted above. Thus there was evidently at the time of the *ṭīkā*s a tendency to harmonize different views proposed in the *aṭṭhakathā*. The older and correct opinion, that the word begins with *dus-*, prevails in the commentarial tradition of the *Samyuttabhāṇakas* perhaps because of a second phrase occurring only in the *Samyuttanikāya*: *sabhayo c' eso maggo. . . ummaggo ca kummaggo ca duhitiko ca*, S IV 195, 17 foll. 'fearsome. . . is this way. . . a devious track, a wrong path, hard to travel on' (Woodward).

Here the commentary explains: *duhitiko ti ettha thitī ti iriyanā, dukkhā thiti etthā ti duhitiko . . . dv̥thitiko ti pi paṭho. es' ev' attho*, Spk III 64, 21-27 = (Be) III 106, 9-14<sup>10</sup> 'duhitika: here endeavour means living.<sup>11</sup> Here living is difficult, [this] means duhitika. . . There is also the reading dv̥thitiko. The meaning is the same'.

Although the original reading *duhitika* is preserved here in both S and Spk, in the Sinhalese and the Burmese manuscript tradition, it is split up into *dū-*, accepted as correct by the Sinhalese, and *dv̥-* thought to be the better reading by the Burmese tradition in the *dubbhikkha* formula (S IV 323 foll.) quoted above. As the commentary on that passage has *dv̥-* in the *pratīka* against *dū-* in the *mūla-* text of the Sinhalese manuscripts, this proves again the independent traditions of the *Samyuttanikāya* and its commentary,<sup>12</sup> and it proves that *dv̥thitikā* belongs to the Burmese tradition. Since the time of Aggavaṃsa, only *dv̥thitikā* has been considered to be correct, for he teaches, when demonstrating different kinds of *sandhis*, that *dv̥thitikā* can be split only into *du-thitikā*, although this word has two meanings: *samānapadacchedaṃ asamānatthaṃ* Sadd 639, 12 foll., i.e. *du-* stands either for *dus-* or *du-* (= *dvi-*).

It is evident that *dv̥thitikā* was preferred to *duhitikā* once the interpretation of this word as containing *-thitikā* had found universal acception. This opinion prevails in the *aṭṭhakathā*, which keeps *duhitikā* as a lectio difficilior with the usual laudable piety toward the text tradition. There can be hardly any doubt, however, that *duhitikā* is the original reading. It is not only the text tradition as we have it today that points in this direction, but also the highly artificial, and as far as *duhitikā* is concerned, grammatically impossible interpretation of the commentaries as well as the extremely simple correct analysis of *duhitikā* as *du-hitika*, the counterpart of *\*su-hitika*. The word *suhita*, though not very frequent, is well attested: *jighacchitānaṃ pi na bhottukamyatā assa pageva suhitānaṃ*, M I 30, 31 foll. 'those who had been hungry would have no desire for food, far less those who had eaten already' (Horner). The commentary has *suhitānaṃ: dhātānaṃ* (Ps I 150, 14), and the *Saddanīti* explains: *titti tapanaṃ paripuṇṇatā suhitatā*, Sadd 449, 23. As the meaning 'satiated' for *suhita* is certain one might infer a meaning 'hungry'

for *\*duhita* and 'connected with hunger, stricken by famine' or even only 'difficult to live' for *duhitika*.

It is very difficult to conjecture, however, why and how such an easy and transparent word formation could fall into oblivion, and how the fanciful etymology *du(s)-Thiti-ka* could arise. Perhaps the first step was a wrong analysis as *du-hiti-ka* leading to an unexplicable *hiti*, being connected with *Thati*, *Thita*<sup>13</sup> just as *brāhmaṇa*<sup>14</sup> was analysed as *brahmaṇaṇi anati* (Sp 111, 12 = Sv 244, 10), *bhikkhu* as *samsāre bhayaṃ ikkhati* (Vism (HOS) 5, 6), *ratana* as *ratinaṃ nayati vahati janayati vaḍḍheti* (Pj I 170, 5 foll.) and many others.<sup>15</sup> The only thing that is certain is that the correct etymology had been forgotten by the time of the *aṭṭhakathā*, perhaps even much earlier. For other words of this stock phrase on famine were also misunderstood at a fairly early date as is shown by wrong Sanskritizations.

A formula similar to that in Pali occurs once in the *Divyāvadāna*: *trividhaṃ durbhikṣaṃ bhaviṣyati cañcu śvetāsthi śālākā-vṛtti ca*, Divy 131, 21 foll.

Edgerton lists in his Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary s.v. *cañcu* a parallel to this sentence from the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya*. As the edition of this text by Nalinaksha Dutt is notorious for its numerous mistakes, this passage is retranscribed here from the facsimile edition:<sup>16</sup>

tr[v]i[dham – gap of 27 akṣaras – ]/3/manuṣyā vījāni  
prakṣīpya anāgatasatvāpekṣayā sthāpayanti yuṣmākaṃ  
anena vīj(e)na manuṣyāḥ kāryaṃ kariṣyanti itti idaṃ  
samudgasamvandhāc cācam<sup>17</sup> ucyat. śvetāsthix<sup>18</sup> katamaḥ  
tasmin kā[I]e [maṇ]uṣyā asthīny upasa [ṃ] (h) r [t] ya [–  
gap of 17 akṣaras – ]/4/nīti tatas taṃ pānaṃ pviānti idaṃ  
śvetāsthisamvandhāc chvetāsthy ucyate. śālākāvṛttix katamaḥ  
tasmin kāle manuṣyāḥ khalavilebhy (o) dhānyaguḍakāni  
śālākayā ākrṣya bahūdakāyāṃ [s] th [ā] lyā [ṃ] kvāthayitvā  
pivanti idaṃ śālākāsanvandh[āt] śālākā [– gap of 7 akṣaras – ]  
/5/jñā vrahmadattena vārāṇasyāṃ ghaṇṭāvaghoṣaṇaṃ kārītaṃ  
śrñvantu bhavanto vārāṇasīnivāsinaḥ pauraḥ naimittikair  
dvādaśavārṣikā anāvṛṣṭi vyākṛtā śālākāvṛttir durbhikṣaṃ  
bhaviṣyati cañcaśvetāsthi ca, Gilgit Manuscripts III.1  
(Bhaiṣajyavastu) 250, 9-251, 1 = Facsimile Edition 130b  
(= No. 773), 2-5.

It is not necessary here to dwell upon the deviations in wording from the *Divyāvadāna*. But it is noteworthy that here not *cañcu*, but *camca* is found. This concurs with a second, as yet unidentified, text from Gilgit, which has been published by Sudha Sengupta only recently.<sup>19</sup> As the transcript of this fragment bristles with misreadings to which quite a few printing mistakes have been added, it is useless to reproduce the text here, as no facsimile is available. Whereas *cañcu/camca*<sup>20</sup> is said to signify *samudgaka* 'basket' in the *Divyāvadāna* and in the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya*, or *za-ma-tog* '*samudgaka*, *karaṇḍaka*' in Tibetan,<sup>21</sup> the Ujjain fragment seems to explain *camca* as a kind of disease: 'people fall down on the ground and are unable to rise. They die on the very spot': *tac camcenāyaṃ puruṣaḥ kālagataḥ camcena kālagata iti* 'therefore they say: "this man died of *camca*, he died of *camca*"'.

The possibility of explaining *camca* in two quite different ways indicates very clearly that the proper meaning was obsolete. Those who conceived the texts knew the formula relating to famine which had been handed down to them as a stock phrase without much caring about the exact meaning of its constituent parts. The same holds good for both the words common to the Sanskrit and the Theravāda tradition: *śvetāsthi/setaṭṭhika* and *śālākāvṛtti/sālākāvutta*. In addition to the material quoted already, there is another famine formula in Pali, in which *dussassa* replaces *dvīthitika*: *dubbhikkhaṃ hoti dussassaṃ setaṭṭhikaṃ sālākāvuttam*, A I 160, 15.<sup>22</sup> 'It is hard to get a meal. The crops are bad, afflicted with mildew and grown to mere stubs' (Woodward).

This translation follows the commentary:

*setaṭṭhikan ti sasse sampajjamāne pānakā patanti, tehi viddhattā nikkhantanikkhantāni sālīsāni setavañṇāni honti nissārāni. taṃ sandhāya vuttam setaṭṭhikan ti*, Mp II 257, 20-22.

'*setaṭṭhika*: when the crops are prospering, insects fall on them. Eaten through by them the sprouts of the rice coming up are white and barren. Because of this *setaṭṭhika* is said'.<sup>23</sup>

Although there is a uniform text tradition of *setaṭṭhika*, corresponding to *śveta-asthika*, in the *Aṅguttaranikāya*, the explanation of the *Manorathapūraṇī* and the reading *setaṭṭhika*

in the *pratīka* in Mp (Ce 1922) point in quite a different direction. In spite of the CPD, which sticks to the reading *seta-aṭṭhika* s.v. *aṭṭhika*, the correct analysis is *setaṭṭi-ka*, confirmed by *setaṭṭikā sassarogo* (Abh (Be 1968) 454),<sup>24</sup> and by the *aṭṭhakathā* on the famous comparison demonstrating the disastrous effects of admitting women to the *saṃgha*:

*seyyathāpi Ānanda sampanne sālikkhette setaṭṭikā nāma rogajāti nipatati evaṃ taṃ sālikkhettaṃ na ciraṭṭhitikaṃ hoti*, Vin II 256, 21-23 = A IV 278, 28-279,<sup>25</sup>

'Even, Ānanda, as when the disease known as mildew attacks a whole field of rice, that field of rice does not last long' (Horner).

The text of the commentary, which is identical for the *Vinaya-piṭaka* and the *Aṅguttaranikāya*, is re-edited here as the PTS editions are faulty in some places:

*setaṭṭikā nāma rogajātī ti eko pāṇako nālamajjhagataṃ kaṇḍam vijjhati. yena viddhattā nikkhantaṃ pi sālīsāṃ khīraṃ gahetum na sakkoti*, Sp 1291, 5-7 = Mp IV 136, 16-18.<sup>26</sup>

'The kind of disease called *setaṭṭikā*: an insect eats through a part in the middle of the hollow stalk. Being pierced by it, the sprout of rice cannot draw any water, although having come out of the ground'.

The manuscript tradition and the explanation do not point to any connection with *aṭṭhi* 'bone' neither here nor in A I 160, 15. *Aṭṭi* 'disease' is further corroborated as the original reading by the Samantapāsādikā commenting on the *dvīthitika*-formula. After explaining *setṭhikā* as 'although having been begging during the day without receiving anything, [Verañjā] is scattered everywhere with mushroom-coloured bones of dead poor people', a variant is given:

*setaṭṭikā ti pi pāṭho. tass' attho setā aṭṭi etthā ti setaṭṭikā. aṭṭi ti āturatā vyādhi rogo. tattha ca sassānaṃ gabbhagahaṇakāle setakarogena upahataṃ eva pacchinnakhiṇaṃ agahitatanḍulaṃ paṇḍarapaṇḍaraṃ sālīsisaṃ vā yavagodhūmasisaṃ vā nikkhamati tasmā setaṭṭikā ti vuccati*, Sp 175, 4-8.

'There is also the reading *setaṭṭikā*. Its meanings is: "where there is the white disease", that is *setaṭṭikā*. Disease means malady, sickness, illness. And there the sprouts of rice or the sprouts of

barley or wheat are infected at the time of the germination of the crops by the white disease and they grow up quite white without having produced grains, for the water is cut off. Therefore it is called "where there is the white disease".<sup>27</sup>

This passage is of particular importance, because it separates *setaṭṭhi* and *setaṭṭi* very clearly, connecting both with different explanations, and because it shows how the reading *setaṭṭhi* might have spread within the Theravāda tradition. Where the context in the canonical texts clearly points to a disease, there is no trace of *aṭṭhi* 'bone' to be found in the *aṭṭhakathā*. As soon as the idea of famine arose, the rare word *aṭṭi* was subject to a reinterpretation as *aṭṭhi*. But for the Buddhist Sanskrit *śvetāsthī* one might have been inclined to think of *-aṭṭikā-* as the only correct form of the word in Pali.

As the *Divyāvadāna* explains *śvetāsthī* as people collecting bones, cooking them till they are white and then drinking the broth, which is quite different from the *Samantapāsādikā*, this again points to an obsolete word, just like the two different interpretations of *caṃca* within the tradition of Northern Buddhism. Therefore *śvetāsthī* is suspect of being a wrong Sanskritization of *setaṭṭi*.

The third and last word in this stock phrase on famine, *śālākāvṛtti* is explained in the same way in both the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya*: 'at that time people scrape together grains and brown sugar from the threshing floor and from spoons<sup>28</sup> with the help of sticks. Having cooked this in a lot of water they drink it'. Here again the Theravāda tradition is of a different opinion:

*śālākāvuttā ti śālākāmattā vuttā. yaṃ tattha vuttam  
vapitam tam śālākāmattam eva ahosi, phale na janayati,*<sup>29</sup>  
Spk III 106,18-20.

'*śālākāvuttā*: grown to mere sprout. What has been sown here, that became a sprout only. It does not bring forth fruit.' Here, as at Sp 175, 8-10 and Mp II 257,23 foll., where the same explanation is given in different words, *-vutta* is derived from Sanskrit *upta* 'sown'. Considering the meaning of the word, which is certainly defined correctly by the *aṭṭhakathā*, and taking into account its Sanskrit counterpart *śālākāvṛtti*, this can hardly be

correct: *śālākāvutta* 'having become a sprout' is *śālākā-vṛtta*. As a rule *vṛtta* develops into *vatta* in Pali, but *vutta* is also possible.<sup>30</sup> This rare, perhaps dialectical, form led the commentator to think of a derivation from *vap*.

The *Samantapāsādikā* further offers a second interpretation of *śālākāvutta*, supposing this word to signify 'living on food tickets'. This again shows that there was no universally accepted interpretation of the term, the meaning of which had become altogether obsolete in the Buddhist Sanskrit tradition.

While the explanations of all three words *caṃca*, *śvetāsthī*, *śālākāvṛtti* in the famine formula as handed down in Northern Buddhism can be discarded as fanciful, the rather conservative Theravāda tradition on the other hand has preserved the correct meaning of the last two terms.

It is not, however, easily explained how, or if, the spelling *setaṭṭhikā* instead of *setaṭṭikā* intruded into the Pali tradition from outside. The latest date for this development and for the popular etymology connecting *-aṭṭikā* with the word for 'bone' is the time of Buddhaghosa.

At a first glance, one might even be inclined to suspect a fifth century Sanskritism. But the dual tradition of *-aṭṭikā* besides *-aṭṭhikā* could have sprung up at a much earlier date, and the frequent misspelling of *inaṭṭa* 'indebted' as *inaṭṭha* rather favours the origin of *-aṭṭhikā* in Pali<sup>31</sup> independent from the Sanskrit tradition.

As *caṃca* does not occur in Pali, the meaning of the word remains obscure. If, however, the 'white disease'<sup>32</sup> was really thought to be caused by insects, and if the crops were only growing as far as sprouts, perhaps because of the failing rains, *caṃca* might signify some kind of noxious animal, such as mice or rats, eating the crops. But as there does not seem to be any obvious etymological connection of this word, this guess may well lead us far astray.

Both Northern and Southern Buddhism have preserved this very old stock phrase on famine independently. At the time of the composition of the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya*, the individual members of this formula were devoid of meaning. That is why their Sanskritization was successful in part only, and why their fanciful interpretation was invented. In the

South, on the other hand, a far more authentic tradition was preserved by the usual piety of Buddhaghosa and other commentators to old traditional interpretations, although these were outdated by their own 'modern' approach to the text. It is this respect towards the tradition which enables us in quite a few cases to recover the original meaning of words and to retrace the development of texts.

MAINZ

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## Notes

- 1 Abbreviations follow the system laid down in V. Trenckner-D. Andersen, *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Vol. I, Copenhagen 1924-1948. I am obliged to my friend K. R. Norman, Cambridge, for some valuable suggestions and for correcting my English.
- 2 The Pāli Tipiṭaka Concordance by mistake gives Vin I 211 and II 175 as references s.v. *dv̥thitika*.
- 3 Toev 122. The word is not listed in Childers' dictionary.
- 4 The text of Sp is given here according to the Burmese ChS edition, as the PTS edition is faulty in some minor points. This paragraph is also quoted from a Sinhalese manuscript by Oldenberg in the critical apparatus to his edition (Vin III 268, 4-9); the reading *iriyānipavattanaṃ* shows, by misreading *-naṃ* as *-ni*, that this manuscript or its source is a transcript from a Burmese manuscript and thus does not reflect a genuine Sinhalese tradition.
- 5 *dukkham* . . . *duhitikā* is quoted from Spk III 106, 15 foll.
- 6 This second *ṭvissāma* is not in Be.
- 7 Ee: *ṭhati*; Be: *ṭhiti* seems to be a misreading of *-taṃ* in the Burmese script. The quotation in Sp-ṭ has *ṭhitam*; variants given in Be: *ṭhati* (sī), *ṭhāmīti* (syā).
- 8 Ee: *payogena ṭhātun ti dv̥thitikā* is w.r.
- 9 Probably read: *duhitikā*.
- 10 The text is given from Be, as Ee is faulty. For *ṭhiti* perhaps read *ṭhitam*, cf. note 7.
- 11 Spk-pṭ (Be) II 345, 17: *iriyānā ti vattanaṃ paṭipajjanā*.
- 12 Cf. O.v.H.: 'On the tradition of Pāli texts in India, Ceylon and Burma', in H. Bechert (ed.), *Buddhism in Ceylon and Studies on Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Countries*, Göttingen, 1978, pp. 48-57, esp. p. 56.
- 13 A possible 'hyperpalism' *\*dihitikā* or even *\*dvihitika*, cf. the pairs *diguṇa* : *duguṇa* at Pj II 497, 31, *dujivha*, *dujjivha* : *dvijivha*, showing a misunderstanding as *dus*: *duji*-, or *duvassa*: *dvivassika* (cf. Sadd

- 796, 2), might have been involved in explaining *duhitikā* as *du-ṭhitika*, if in the pair *duhitika*: *\*dvihitika* the latter was analysed as *dv-ihitika* and then assumed to be *-ṭhitika*. I owe this suggestion to K. R. Norman.
- 14 In different 'etymologies' of *brahmaṇa*: K. R. Norman, *Elders' Verses I*, London, PTS, 1969 p. 167 on verse 221.
- 15 Cf. K. Mitra: 'Fanciful derivation of words', in *IHQ*, 28, 1952, pp. 273-279.
- 16 *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts* (Facsimile Edition) reproduced by Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra. Part 6, Delhi 1974. As this facsimile was not accessible to Edgerton, he gives the faulty text of Dutt.
- 17 Facsimile not clear: probably not *cañcam*, as *ñc* rarely occurs in the Gilgit manuscripts.
- 18 The letter *x* is written here to mark the *jihvāmūliya*.
- 19 Sudha Sengupta, 'Fragments from Buddhist Texts', in Ramchandra Pandeya (ed.), *Buddhist Studies in India*, Delhi, Motilal, 1975, pp. 137-208. The passage with a description of famine, which is a blending between the *camca/śvetāsthī*-formula and the *kṛcchra/kāntāra*-formula (cf. *BHSD* s.v. *kāntāra*), occurs on pp. 202 foll.
- 20 The Gilgit texts show that *camca* is older than *cañcu*, which may be *cañcu*, nom. sg. -u (*BHSG* § 8.20, 30), originally.
- 21 The Tibetan parallel to the Gilgit text is given by D. R. Shackleton-Bailey, *JRAS*, 1951, pp. 91 foll.
- 22 The positive counterpart is: *subhikkhā hoti susassā sulabhapiṇḍā sukarā* etc. Vin I 238, 10 foll.
- 23 Woodward's translation of Mp (*Gradual Sayings* II 142 n. 5) is not very accurate. Be has *daṭṭhattā* instead of *viddhattā*, which hardly affects the translation.
- 24 The edition of Abh by Waskaḍuwe Subhūti (3rd ed. 1900) has *-ṭṭh-* in the text, but *-ṭṭ-* in the index p. 260.
- 25 Ee has *setaṭṭhikā* in both Vin and A, without variants, but Be and Ce 1933 of Vin and Ce 1915 of A have *setaṭṭikā*.
- 26 Only the more important variants given in the editions are repeated here: *setaṭṭikā*: Sp: so Be with v.l. *-ṭṭh-* in *sī*, *syā*, *ka*, Ee: *-ṭṭh-*; Mp: *-ṭṭh-* in Be and Ee, but *-ṭṭ-* in Ce 1924 and 1904 (= P. in Ee); Sp-ṭ (Be) I 426, 19 quotes *setaṭṭikā nāma ekā rogajāti*. -Sp: Ee *pāṇako nāma so. - nālamajjhagataṃ*: Sp: Ee *-majjhe gataṃ* = variants in B and K in Mp (Ee); Sp: Be, Ee *nāli*. - *viddhattā*: Mp: Ee = Ce 1924 *viddhā kaṇḍā* with v.l. in Ee: *viddhattā vaṇḍam*; Be = Ee with v.l. *ka*: *viddhattā kaṇḍam*, cf. Mp II 257, 21 quoted above.
- 27 Spk III 106, 17 on S IV 323, 4 has only 'white bones', and consequently no trace of *setaṭṭikā* seems to survive in the *Samyuttanikāya* tradition. Sp-ṭ on Sp 175 quotes Sp 1291.
- 28 Div 132, 4 *khalu vilebhyo*; read with Gilg.Man. *khalavilebhyo* (Dutt *khāla* is wrong) and cf. Tib.: *JRAS* 1951, p. 92.
- 29 So read with Be and B<sub>1</sub>, C<sub>1</sub> in Ee.
- 30 H. Berger, *Zwei Probleme der mittelindischen Lautlehre*, Kitzinger, München, 1955, pp. 58 foll. *-vutta* is said to mean *nibbattaṃ*, *sampannaṃ* (Vmv (Be) I 88, 25 foll.).

- 31 Sanskrit influence, however, is evident in the *Lokapaññatti* 187, 15 (ed. E. Denis, Paris 1977) *dubbhikkhaṃ hoti sakalavutti*, thus Denis: 'absence totale de pluie' (sic!); both manuscripts have *satalavutti*, read *salākāvutti*: -*vutti* instead of -*vutta* brings the word near to *śalākāvṛtti*.
- 32 Probably 'mildew' or 'blight' (as suggested by Oldenberg-Rhys Davids, *Vinaya Texts* III 326) which is, however, not caused by insects, but by fungi.

## KECI, 'SOME' IN THE PALI COMMENTARIES

The Pali Canon and its commentaries (cties) are interdependent in so far as the cties give as precise explanations as possible of the vast number of canonical words they comment on in the three piṭakas: Vinaya, Sutta, and Abhidhamma. Both canon and cties are closed now and no further additions can be made to either. Any later explanatory work, such as *ṭīkā*s, *anuṭṭīkā*s, or anything more modern or contemporary,<sup>1</sup> does not rank as part of the genuine commentarial literature and is in fact post-commentarial.

The history of this genuine literature is somewhat complicated. It appears to have emanated from Jambudīpa (India), and was brought later to Sri Lanka by Mahā-Mahinda, son of the Emperor Asoka, there to be put into the Sinhalese language. This forms the source-material of the Pali cties as we have them today. For in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. these ancient cties were not only translated into Pali but organized and edited into a more scientific and sophisticated form principally by Buddhaghosa, Dhammapāla and, to a far lesser extent, by Buddhaddatta. All these were bhikkhus living in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., and all came from India to the Mahāvihāra in Anuradhapura to pursue their self-imposed editorial tasks there with the consent of the resident bhikkhus.

In spite of all that has been written and said, it cannot, so it seems, be repeated too often that not one of these so-called commentators is, strictly speaking, the author of any cty to which his name has been attached. Rather is it the case that all of them were translators and editors rendering into a more acceptable language and arranging in a more co-ordinated and rational order the commentarial material they found at the Mahāvihāra in the Sinhalese tongue. For this, for one thing, 'rendered no service to the bhikkhu-population living overseas'.<sup>2</sup>

In words attributed to Buddhaghosa, 'Removing the Sīhala language from them (i.e. the cties) and basing it on the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* without discarding whatever are correct meanings and rulings that are given in the Mahāpaccarī and other famous commentaries such as the Kurundī that can be admitted to the